The A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter contains a brief summary of important matters affecting labor, occurring in the industrial, legislative, and judicial fields, and such other information that will benefit the trade union movement.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

WEEKLY NEWS LETTER

AGITATE! EDUCATE! ORGANIZE!

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HUGE ARMAMENT BREEDS WAR SAYS U. S. DIPLOMATIC CHIEF

Washington, Aug. 20.—In his invitation to Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan to join with this country in a disarmament conference, next November, Secretary of State Hughes said that AVOIDABLE OR EXTRAVAGANT ARMAMENT IS "NOT ONLY WITHOUT JUSTIFICATION, BUT IS A CONSTANT MENACE TO THE PEACE OF THE WORLD RATHER THAN AN ASSURANCE OF ITS JUSTIFICATION."

This is probably the hardest jolt that the jingoes have received in their campaign to unload on the country under the cloak of "preparedness."

The statement is accepted, of course, as the views of President Harding, in full accord with the views of Woodrow Wilson, when president, although at that time the theory was received with sneers by the saber rattlers who shrieked "pacifist" if a citizen ventured the opinion that huge armament breeds war.

Secretary Hughes' revival of this common sense theory brings dismay to commercial patriots, flag-waving politicians and military swashbucklers and vindicates citizens who have had their patriotism questioned because they oppose huge armament and drill sergeant rule.

Secretary Hughes' invitation makes it clear that armament expenses are too great for the world to bear. "Productive labor," he said, "is staggering under an economic burden too heavy to be borne unless the present vast public expenditures are greatly reduced. It is idle to talk of security, or the assurance of social justice, while wasteful and unproductive outlays deprive effort of its just reward and defeat the reasonable expectation of progress."

Suggestion is made by Secretary Hughes that the conference discuss restricting "in the interests of humanity, the new agencies of warfare."

There is no question but recent developments of "the new agencies of warfare" have sobered the wildest militarist. Gases have been developed to such a point since the armistice that chemists can obliterate all form of life in large areas. The recent exhibition of airplane superiority over battleships has also awakened men to the helplessness of a $40,000,000 war vessel when attacked from above.

It is hinted that the conference may be the beginning of a league of nations in dilute form and under a different name.

Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law Is Urged

Washington, Aug. 20.—A. F. of L. officials are calling the attention of affiliates to the reinforcement of the Ohio compensation law by the last A. F. of L. convention.

The convention declared that "we urge the officers and members of state federations to petition for and work for the adoption of workmen's compensation legislation modeled after that form now in operation in the state of Ohio."

Affiliates are also reminded that the last convention reaffirmed principles of workmen's compensation legislation approved by the 1914 convention, which include the establishment of compensation rates of not less than 66 2-3 per cent of the wages paid those who are to receive awards under compensation laws; the recommendations also state:

"That widows whose husbands were killed in industries should receive compensation during widowhood.

"That additional rates should be paid on the basis of the number of children under 18 years of age.

"That the administration of compensation laws should be under the supervision of state commissions, appointed for this purpose and that there also be added here the following: Occupation diseases should be considered as a part and imports of workmen's compensation law, as accidents.

"That as the profits of liability insurance companies are deprived entirely from funds collected for the payment of compensation to injured workmen, every effort be made to secure workmen's compensation laws which will entirely eliminate employers' liability insurance companies.

"That inasmuch as serious evils have crept in as a result of the provision made by most workmen's compensation laws allowing employers to be self-insured, persistent efforts be made in the several states and provinces of Canada to eliminate this provision and bring all employers under the law providing for contributions to state funds to be administered by a compensation board.

Trade unionists and students of workmen's compensation laws are advised to secure United States senate document No. 419, sixty-third congress, second session, which contains the report submitted by A. F. of L. Vice President Duncan and John Mitchell upon this subject.

CHURCH MEN DEFEND INDUSTRIAL POLICY

New York, Aug. 20.—In its Labor Sunday message for 1921, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, vigorous answer is made to critics of its industrial policy. The message says:

"The message for this Labor Sunday is one of unrest, a humiliation of suffering and confusion. The land is filled with unemployment. Basic industries of all of the capitalistic are strained and anxious. Thousands of workers are finding their industries together merely from day to day. Labor is fighting for its fundamentals of right of collective action and fighting at a serious disadvantage, the freedom of the ministry to proclaim a social gospel and to apply it according to their own honest convictions is also gravely challenged. Even the common right of criticism of methods of speech and assembly in many communities is at stake.

"The economic and industrial factors that condition the lives of men and women and help to make them what they become are as much a concern of the church as any other phase of their moral development. An industrial practice that cramps and devitalizes a human being or a body or in spirit is as much a foe of religion as is the liquor traffic. The church must not be asked to be any more than it can ignore the other."

GOVERNOR IS SCORED.

Charleston, W. Va., Aug. 20.—Governor Morgan continues to be deluged with angry protests against all sections of the state because of the murder of Sid Hatfield, in which, by a local coroner's jury, the governor that he was asked to protect Hatfield, the unionists say:

"The facts adduced by an examination conducted by the prosecuting attorney of McDowell county of eyewitnesses to the crime immediately after the shooting establish beyond all reasonable doubt that it was a cold-blooded and wanton murder and the circumstances surrounding the case establish the further assumption that it was a deliberate premeditated murder under Sid Hatfield and Ed Chambers from the beginning of securing the indictment against Hatfield for the alleged participation in a shooting affray at McDowell county court house several months ago by Cigar Makers' union, No. 187, in this city and the leader in the attempt to form the amalgamated cigar and tobacco workers' union. A portion of Billow's report to the detective agency follows:

"I am trying to cause a split between local 227 and the other locals, in order to accomplish the work I am coming very slowly, but I will be successful in the end in bringing about the split.

"You may instruct your clients (employers) not to settle the strike under any considerations. If the clients hold out for a few weeks more, the strike will be broken to the clients' satisfaction.

"If Albert Lingenfelder could be discredited in the union, among the rank file and leaders, that alone would cause a split, and he would be blamed for the union activities in the strike.

"Max Lurye is not taking any active part at this time. If he can be succeeded in discrediting him before the members, as per your instructions.

"I cannot make daily reports, as I am always busy with the executive committee and the executive board, local 227.

"The committee of three, whose names I have mentioned in my previous reports, are the most active, and if Lingenfelder can be discredited some way, this committee will be disbanded.

"President Perkins of the Cigar Makers' International union, and trade unionists that Billow was a leader in the attempt, several years service of that state and that the officials used the Troy armory and the army trucks.

IMPORTING DERELICTS.

Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, Aug. 20.—Trade unionists charge that derelict immigrants are being imported into England for the purpose of eventually attacking the powerful Australian Workers' Union. The unionists refer to a recent statement by the Sydney Bun, which gleefully stated that among these immigrants "strikes are taboo and there is no union."

Organized labor is suspicious that the scheme is to plant nurseries of non-unionists at different points in Australia.

WAITERS WIN OLD CONTRACT

Rochester, N. Y., Aug. 20.—Cooks and waiters have renewed their old contract, despite efforts of anti-unionists to cut wages and working conditions.

LABOR DAY, 1921

By SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

March on! Men and women of labor, march on!

Carry forward the banner of human freedom and progress.

Carry forward the banner of liberty.

Labor day is a day upon which to celebrate the growth and progress of our movement, and a day upon which to fix our determination to continue the struggle.

The organized labor movement is the protector and defender of the wage earners of our country. It is the power that stands between the workers and exploitation by those who never willingly yield to the curtailment of autocratic power.

The organized labor movement is necessary because it is the only agency through which the wage earners can secure justice; the only agency through which they can develop democracy in industry; the only agency through which they can bring more of light into their life and work.

The organized labor movement is the champion of all wage earners, fighting their battles everywhere, striving to promote their interests on every field. The place of every wage earner is within the union of his trade or calling.

This Labor day should be the mark from which all move forward in a great campaign to bring into the organizations of labor all who have not yet joined in our great, humanitarian, progressive work.

This Labor day, 1921, should be a day upon which to begin a great forward movement of labor. From this day forward let every man and woman of labor be a volunteer organizer, carrying the message of organization everywhere, flying the inspiring banner of trade unionism everywhere, knitting the fabric of labor everywhere, closing up the ranks everywhere, bringing solidarity and determination to our movement everywhere.

Trade union progress rests upon organization.

Progress for wage earners, wherever they may be, rests upon organization.

The unorganized are unheard. The unorganized are unheeded.

The unorganized are unknown to the organized powers of greed and exploitation.

The unorganized are unprotected from the assaults and injustices of industrial tyranny.

The unorganized are helpless before the merciless forces of united employers seeking to get from labor the last ounce of effort in return for the least possible wage.

The unorganized have no relief except in organization; no strength except in unity.

Organize the unorganized.

Unite and federate the organized.

Build for progress, for humanity, for freedom and for justice.

Build the better world, a nobler humanity, a better concept in industry and a fuller, broader opportunity for all to live and to partake of the happiness of living.

Begin this Labor day. Organize, unite, federate.

Now for the five million mark!

By FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor.

Labor day, 1921, sees the most gigantic and widespread lockout of wage earners in the history of this country. Approximately 5,000,000 men and women, anxious to labor, are without employment, and at least 20,000,000 persons, or about one-fifth of our population, are directly affected by a tragedy that we hope may not be intensified the coming winter.

The failure of a large element of our citizenship to awaken to this grim situation is in contrast to their attitude whenever a considerable group of wage earners voluntarily suspend work to enforce better living conditions. Then stern demand is made that "industry function." All other questions are subordinated to that of breaking the strike, regardless of method or cost.

The causes for present conditions are associated with every great war, and are as inevitable as the laws of mathematics. Wage earners must accept this fact and reject the propaganda of those who profit by war and whose excuses for present conditions take every conceivable form.

Back of the world war were imperialistic and monarchical forces that are disappointed with the outcome, but their principles still exist among a comparatively small but powerful group in every land, including our own. To make this group powerless should be the purpose of every patriot.

I have no illusions to the end of war, but wars can be minimized if there were no profit in these upheavals that pauperize the many and enrich the few.

There is no moral reason why the government should conscript its soldiers and not apply this theory to dollars and machinery. If the soldier is injured he is given a dole. If he is killed, his dependents are given a small pension.

The dollar, however, is assured full return, with every resource of the nation behind that pledge. Machinery and all the processes of production are used with the guarantee that the owners will be given a return equal to their highest profits and the plants returned in as good condition as when commandeered.

Agitation to end war or even minimize war will be fruitless while we conscript soldiers and permit profiteers to set their own price on the government's need in its hour of distress. It should be a national characteristic that the men who stay at home shall make no more profit than do the men who risk their lives on the battle front. If we conscript the flower of our youth to fill our armies, nothing should be considered too sacred to support these armies.

Another after-effect of war is the control of credit by private financiers. The American Federation of Labor has declared that credit is "inherently social," and that it should be a governmental function, operated for the benefit of the people. As now administered it permits financial agencies to levy a toll upon the people "as high as the traffic will bear."

With profit taken out of war, with dollars and machinery conscripted, and with the credit of the people free from private financiers and administered by the government, future wars would be less attractive to those who increase their power at the cost of their country.

CHINESE COOLIE ADVOCATES ACKNOWLEDGE PEON CHARGE

Washington, Aug. 20.—Hawaiian sugar planters, trying to get congress to legalize peonage on their plantations, have been beaten to a degree sufficient to secure from them the admission that H. J. resolution 171, their own resolution, would establish peonage.

This admission came in the form of suggestions from the commission sent here by the Hawaiian territorial government for a substitute resolution.

Appearing before the house immigration committee, Harry Irwin, counsel for the Hawaiian commission, pleaded that the present resolution so amended as to prohibit peonage. His suggestion was that provision be made that Chinese coolies, when admitted, be admitted with the proviso that they be confined to agricultural work, with deportation as the alternative.

In answer to questions from members of the committee, Judge Irwin suggested that Chinese replace at the time of admission and be required to re-register at specified times.

He admitted that the adoption of resolution 171 would necessitate the present immigration laws as far as these applied to Hawaii, including the Chinese exclusion act and the contract labor exclusion act. He frankly admitted that the term "otherwise inadmissible" as used in the resolution means Chinese coolies.

He stated that in past experiences with that class of labor he found that the Chinese government required the knowledge of the conditions under which its nationals left their country. Permission is given for their emigration. Congressman Raker of the committee said that such knowledge on the part of a foreign government indicated not only a contract with the employers that limited freedom of action of the workers, but also illegal relationship between the employers and a foreign government.

Chairman Dillingham, of the Hawaiian commission, suggested in a prepared brief that there would be

(Continued on page Two, col. Eight)

SLANDER STRIKERS PART OF SPY'S WORK

Chicago, Aug. 20.—The Cigar Makers' Journal reproduces a photographic report furnished a detective agency by one Billow, who was the leading figure in the disruption several months ago of Cigar Makers' union, No. 187, in this city and the leader in the attempt to form the amalgamated cigar and tobacco workers' union. A portion of Billow's report to the detective agency follows:

"I am trying to cause a split between local 227 and the other locals, in order to accomplish the work I am coming very slowly, but I will be successful in the end in bringing about the split.

"You may instruct your clients (employers) not to settle the strike under any considerations. If the clients hold out for a few weeks more, the strike will be broken to the clients' satisfaction.

"If Albert Lingenfelder could be discredited in the union, among the rank file and leaders, that alone would cause a split, and he would be blamed for the union activities in the strike.

"Max Lurye is not taking any active part at this time. If he can be succeeded in discrediting him before the members, as per your instructions.

"I cannot make daily reports, as I am always busy with the executive committee and the executive board, local 227.

"The committee of three, whose names I have mentioned in my previous reports, are the most active, and if Lingenfelder can be discredited some way, this committee will be disbanded.

"President Perkins of the Cigar Makers' International union, and trade unionists that Billow was a leader in the attempt, several years service of that state and that the officials used the Troy armory and the army trucks.

LOWER COSTS; MORE PROFIT

Washington, Aug. 20.—In discussing the construction of passenger ships for the United States shipping board, Congressman Madden, chairman of the house appropriations committee, made this interesting statement:

"With the lowering of wages and the lowering of material costs, I thought and your subcommittee thought that the government ought to save money in the construction of vessels, but we inquired as to whether or not the government was to get the credit for any reduced cost of material, for any reduction in wages. And the reply came that the government divided that saving with the contractor. We believe this is not good business, but it is bad business. It can not be remedied during this contract, despite efforts of anti-unionists to cut wages and working conditions.

CO-OPS. WILL MEET TO UNIFY PRODUCERS

East St. Louis, Ill., Aug. 20.—Officers of the central states co-operative wholesale society have issued a call for the third annual delegate and shareholders' convention, to convene in this city Sunday, September 11.

Many trade unionists are associated in the co-op. wholesale society. Its president is John H. Walker, president of the Illinois state federation of labor. Its purpose is to supply goods to the large co-operative stores that have been or are operating on the Rochdale plan, especially in the central states. The wholesale society has a large warehouse and offices in this city.

Every stockholder in the society is urged to attend the convention as a delegate, and every trade union and co-op. society is urged to be represented. One of the questions to be discussed will be the erection of floor and cereal mills, that these products can be union made.

"As co-operative production develops," says the convention call, "it means a strong helpful influence in enabling labor, to compel a settlement of their relationship between them and their employes on a just basis. It will serve as a strong second line trench of defense in the event of an industrial conflict. As co-operative financing develops, it means transferring the power and influence of money from the side of the capitalist to that of the worker."

The convention will also discuss plans to reduce the number of middle men and how trade unionists and farmers' co-operators can be closer contact with the co-op. movement.

CZARISM IN ATLANTA.

Atlanta, Ga., Aug. 20.—The board of education has dismissed Miss Julia Riordan, a member of the Public School Teachers' association, and she has refused to give its reasons.

MICHIGAN UNIONISTS START BUILDING CO.

Washington, Aug. 20.—In a letter to President Gompers, chairman of the A. F. of L. bureau of information and publicity, James C. Henry, editor of the Jackson (Mich.) Square Deal, tells how trade unionists in that city have launched building loan associations that refused to loan money to wage earners for building purposes "until wages had come down."

The Home Owners' Loan association, chartered by the state with $50,000 capitalization, and officered by union men, is the result, says the Michigan labor editor, who adds that nearly all the stock is sold and that increased capitalization will be necessary.

"The purpose of the association is to loan money to its members to build homes. The shares are for $100, and you pay 25 cents per week per share. The association loans up to two-thirds of the value of the property. This association was the result of open shop associations refusing to loan money to build homes 'until wages had come down.' At the same time it is known that over $250,000 of the funds of the building associations here are lost in store and factory buildings. The members of organized labor did not relish having their money used for the purpose of lowering wages. It was surprising how many members of organized labor had a 'nest egg' that they wished to leave with the new loan association. Their money draws about 6 per cent and a large number took their savings out of the banks and put it where it could not be used against them."

WILL WAR ON PROFITEERS.

Washington, Aug. 20.—There is going to be a sure enough, honest to goodness campaign started against war profiteers, according to the department of justice. Other attempts have been made along this line, but the next move is said to be the big hop off. It is stated that the repeal of the anti-profiteering section of the Lever act by the United States supreme court will not avail the profiteers as the newly knocked bulldog fixing.

Evidently some patriots are defrauding the government on their income tax returns, for it stated that more than 4,000 income tax returns will also be rounded up. The department, it is stated, will refrain from calling it a "drive," but that it "will be construed" as an oppression of big business.

WORKERS ON DEFENSIVE.

Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, Aug. 20.—In enforcing the minimum wage granted to by the national basic wage commission, Justice Powers has ruled that the workers must prove the case against the employers and the necessities of the public. The court holds that the law calls for this proof, and that the workers, therefore, will not only have to show that their demand is "fair and reasonable," but also prove that it is in the interest of the public that they receive increased prices. The third proof necessary will be that employers can pay the increase without injuring profits or taxing the public.

What Abraham Lincoln Said:

"I am glad that a system of labor prevails under which laborers can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down to work whether you pay them for it or not.

"I like a system which lets a man 'quit' when he wants to, and I wish it might prevail everywhere.

"I want a man to have a chance to better his condition; that is the true system. I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer."

U. S. Government Shows Food Prices Increase

Washington, Aug. 20.—With prices paid farmers down to the lowest ebb, retail prices for food in 14 principal cities of the United States have increased approximately 5½ per cent from June 15 to July 15, according to the United States bureau of labor statistics.

These figures are a challenge to the prevalent cry of cheap-wage advocates who insist that food costs are being reduced and that wages should also be reduced.

The bureau shows that during the 30-day period there was an increase of 5 per cent in Minneapolis, in Buffalo, food prices increased 7 per cent; in Indianapolis, 6 per cent; in Boston, Denver and Memphis, 5 per cent; in Baltimore and New Orleans, 4 per cent; in Philadelphia, three-tenths of 1 per cent, and in Omaha there was a decrease of four-tenths of 1 per cent.

Italian Communists Fail When Given Full Leeway

Williamson, Mass., Aug. 20.—The seizure of Italian factories by communists proved "a flash in the pan" when the government refused to use repressive measures against them, said Tommaso Tittoni, president of the Italian senate in an address at Williams college.

The action of the communists, a few months ago, the Italian statesman said, created the impression that Italy was on the verge of a revolution and strong demand was made for repression. This was done, he said, there is no doubt that Italy's loss in foreign markets would not have been so great.

"On the other hand, it should be remembered that the Italian day laborers occupied the factories they found themselves obliged to realize the impossibility of their taking over their entire administrative functions. From that time communism, as the recent elections have proved, lost ground daily among the great mass of the people."

The speaker said that with the subsiding of violence the Italian government is endeavoring to tackle these grave problems."

A. F. OF L. COUNCIL MEETS.

Washington, Aug. 20.—With much important work before it, largely the result of the Denver convention, the A. F. of L. executive council will begin its quarterly meeting in Atlantic City, Aug. 22.

Among subjects which it is expected will command the council's attention are:

Educational work, the progress being made by the special committee investigating text books, etc.

Work done to give effect to the convention's decision in favor of a bureau of information.

Promotion of organization work throughout the country.

Putting into operation resolutions calling for important special legislative measures.

Fully a half dozen important special investigations were ordered by the convention, and these as well as all business referred to the council by the convention and which the convention did not dispose of at its session in Denver will, it is expected, be considered at the coming session.

The council probably will remain in session nearly two weeks.

HONOR LAFAYETTE.

Washington, Aug. 20.—American labor has been asked to "appropriately" observe Lafayette day in all labor day celebrations. The request was conveyed in a letter to President Gompers from Ernest Lecon, recording secretary of the La-Fayette committee.

Last year LaFayette day fell on the same day as labor day. This year LaFayette day follows on the next day after labor day.

Added interest in Lafayette day is found in the fact that the anniversary of the first battle of the Marne falls on the same day. President Gompers is requested to convey to the labor movement the desire of the LaFayette memorial committee, that labor shall "appropriately observe" the day.

Judicial Usurpation Is Again Proven; Citizens Now Recall Labor's Protests

Newark, N. J., Aug. 20.—New Jersey citizens have discovered that "judicial usurpation" is a reality, and not a supposed figure of speech used by agitators.

Federal District Judge Rellstab is responsible for the awakening. He has raised our fares to 8 cents with a 2-cent transfer privilege.

The state public utility commission refused to increase rates after an exhaustive examination and hearings on the subject. The company appealed to Judge Rellstab that their property was being confiscated. The court held that this was a violation of the United States constitution, and without hearings, granted the company's petition.

Judge Rellstab's decision has created a furore, but some people who ask: "What do you expect, when you fail to protest when these courts annul guarantees against workers?"

W. J. Russell, editor of the Newark Morning Ledger, in a signed statement, declares that Judge Rellstab would have been impeached and driven from office in order that the public at large may come to its own, but too many of our courts are filled with servile puppets only too ready to serve special interests.

No trade unionist ever uttered a more bitter attack on courts which are declared to "have ceased to be institutions that are supposed to be sacred in their nature."

Yet is the height of ridiculous absurdity to expect people who know the source and the pedigree and the calibre of many of our judges to have the slightest respect for them or confidence in them or their rulings and decisions when the same involved is that of a utility corporation or a special privilege group that knows exactly what it wants and how to get it.

"Such danger as confronts our institutions today in this republic begins and ends with the arbitrary abuse of judicial power sultering all laws in a flagrant disregard of justice under the guise of personal rights and special privileges. Our institutions are in a thousand fold greater danger from a Bergen and a Rellstab than they ever from a dozen Bill Haywoods and Emma Goldmans.

"It is the good sense and patriotism of the people constitute an adequate antidote for the poison of the bolshevist, but there is no antidote for public respect and esteem and confidence that is destroyed through ignorance or corruption, and that is beyond the reach of the people.

"Between the two that is the choice between being in contempt of a court and a court in contempt of the people. That is the issue. That is the supreme alternative.

"I repeat that the court constitute the greatest menace that confronts this republic and the only remedy lies in the election of men by the people as against appointive courts by politicians for corporations.

"Let us repeat that we have no more right to criticize courts than that we have no liberties or rights except those resting on the wishes of the prejudices and the intelligence and corruption of too many of our judges who are politically appointive tenure in office."

RAILROAD GIVEN TIME.

Chicago, Aug. 20.—The United States railroad labor board has granted the Pennsylvania railroad 15 days' extension to arrange conferences with duly authorized representatives of the company's employes. The board's official statement says:

"At the request of Samuel Rea, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad company, the United States railroad labor board has extended the time heretofore provided in Decision 218, 15 days from August 16. Decision 218 directed that conferences be held between the Pennsylvania railroad and the duly authorized representatives of system federation No. 90, railway employes' department, and the duly authorized representatives of any other organization of 100 or more unorganized employes for the purpose of preparing a ballot and holding an election to decide what representatives are desired by a majority of the employes in their dealings with the company regarding rules."

The railroad labor board previously ruled that the railroad company "union" did not represent these employes. The board vetoed the company's plan to treat only with employes of the company. The board said the railroad officials have no more right to take a position than the men would have to dictate to stockholders who should represent them.

WHY FARMERS ARE UNITING.

Baltimore, Aug. 20.—"When a man pays $80 for an all-wool suit of clothes and the farmer can get but $2 for the wool that went into it, somewhere in between lies a deep chasm of misery," says the Maryland Farmer.

"When a farmer sells a bushel of wheat for $1.10 and pays 15 cents for a four-ounce box of prepared wheat breakfast food, making the cost $20 for 50 pounds, or one bushel, there is something wrong. Until farmers' marketing conditions can overcome this evil, they will be rendering a distinct service to humanity."

WHO GETS SHOE PROFITS?

Washington, Aug. 20.—The hide of one animal will make the upper part of 20 pairs of shoes, and the entire hide is now selling at $4.50," said Congressman Towner of Iowa in a speech in the house last week. "Yet the average price of shoes

BLANTON IS SLIPPING.

Washington, Aug. 20.—Blasting Blanton as "discovered" in the national capital and as "no longer he 'played up'" on the first page of the public press, Last Week he declared that the government took over the railroads, not to win the war, but because the government feared the railroad employes would strike and tie up transportation from coast to coast. "If such were my bill to stop strikes by law, we would not have to take over the roads," shrieked Blanton. And the newspaper correspondents cruelly refused to print the bombast.

Blanton is aware he is slipping, for he blamed the International Typographical union. He said there are but "14 newspapers in the United States" who would dare offend this union. There was a time when this was considered "hot stuff" but now the men in the press gallery yawn.

Blanton's policy is to remain silent when big business or influences that control it intervene, and to rave for "the people" on minor matters or when he can aim a blow at organized labor. He applied his system in a discussion in the house on a bill to prevent rate discrimination to the shipping board. For an entire day the house discussed management and waste in the shipping board. Blanton took no part in the discussion, nor expressed an opinion on any form. Later, when the house considered a $2,000 item relating to contested elections Blanton howled for economy and made vigorous protest against the "wasteful expenditure of the people's money."

TEAMSTERS CHECK CUTS.

New York, Aug. 20.—More than 1,000 teamsters employed by the United States trucking corporations checked a wage reduction of from $5 to $6 a week and forced the operators to restore the old scale.

The corporation demanded that rates be reduced $5 a week. A strike was called and the corporation agreed to accept the old scale.

STRIKERS "MAKE FACES."

Rochester, N. Y., Aug. 20.—The Press and Independent, in the role of strikebreakers in the printing industry in this city, is in a pitiful jet. They complain that strikers "make faces" at them. Complaints of "faces" have been reported for this business of

THE JUDICIAL VETO WHOLLY WITHOUT AUTHORITY IN THE CONSTITUTION

By Chief Justice Walter Clark of the Supreme Court of North Carolina

(In American Federationist.)

The three fold division of constitutional government is into the **legislative** or law-making department usually divided into two bodies i. e., a senate, and a house of representatives; the **executive,** and the **judicial.**

The only interference with the supremacy of the law making department is that in this country, but in very few others, the executive has a qualified veto upon the action of the legislature. In England the veto of the king though not formally abolished has not been exercised for more than two centuries—i. e., not since 1707. Even the power of the house of lords, their senate, has been practically abrogated for many years by the act which provides that when the house of commons has passed an act which the house of lords has rejected, but which the house of commons has again reenacted, it becomes law without the consent of the upper house.

In this country the president retains the veto power which was put in the constitution one century and a third ago, but it is not an absolute veto, merely a qualified veto which can be over-ruled by a two-thirds vote in each house and this has been very often done. Even a qualified veto by the executive is now obsolete almost everywhere except in this country. In most of our states, though never in all, there is a qualified veto which can be overcome to prevent the enactment of any act unless it is again passed, as in congress, though all the state constitutions do not require a two-thirds majority for that purpose.

The above statement contains all the authority that exists anywhere by any constitutional authority to prohibit or interfere with the enactment of any statute by the law making body of any country. In 1803 Chief Justice John Marshall secured by his personal influence a decision by the supreme court of the United States that that court could set aside and hold invalid any act of congress which a majority of that court should, at any time, hold to be in conflict with the constitution of the United States. Such doctrine had never been advanced by any court, in any other country, save once only in England and then the parliament had promptly hanged Chief Justice Tressilian and exiled the balance of the court for life to France. Such offence was never repeated. It has never been followed by the courts in any other country, though all of them now have written constitutions except only in England.

This decision of the United States supreme court was rendered in the case of Marbury vs. Madison by the influence of Chief Justice Marshall, a bitter personal and political enemy of President Jefferson, and is in direct opposition to constitutional government everywhere which has never recognized any authority of the courts to vitiate legislation or to exercise any function in regard to it other than to interpret the meaning of the language used by the legislative power. Indeed such action is in direct violation of the language of the constitution of the United States, which provides that when a bill has passed both houses of congress and has been approved by the president; or if disapproved by him, has been again passed by a two-thirds vote in each house; **"It shall become a law."** The makers of the constitution clearly thought that when a bill had received the approval of both houses and the president, (or on failure to receive the approval of the president had been again passed by a two-thirds vote in each house) that it was conclusively presumed to be in accordance with the constitution and that if it was not congress would express the public opinion to that effect by repealing the act.

An act so entirely unprecedented, except in the case of Chief Justice Tressilian, in all the other countries and so directly in conflict with the language of the United States constitution which bestows no such powers upon the courts, was bitterly denied when first asserted and has been questioned ever since.

When the court so held on a memorable occasion, Andrew Jackson tersely said, "So John Marshall has made his decision, has he? Now let us see him execute it." And it was never executed but remained always a dead letter. The same was the practical result in the Dred Scott case and when congress anticipated another attempt to set aside a statute congress passed an act forbidding the supreme court to take jurisdiction and it obeyed in the "McCardle case," 74 U. S. (7 Wall) 506.

It will be asked "Upon what basis then has the doctrine of the judicial veto rested?" On an argument once when counsel had made a bold statement the judge asked the opposing counsel to state his reasons in opposition. He replied: "That statement which seems to have impressed your honor rests solely upon the imperturbable perpendicularity of assertion on the part of counsel for the other side." Those who stand for self-government and the right of the people to enact their own laws subject to approval by themselves as to the constitutionality and the desirability of legislation, may well reply that the assertion of the superiority of the courts over the wisdom and integrity of both houses of congress and the president has no basis save in its imperturbable perpendicularity of assertion by a majority of the court in assuming authority in their own behalf not warranted by any intimation in the constitution and in direct conflict with its provisions which provide that the enactment of congress, with the approval of the president, **"shall become law"** —subject, of course, to repeal by the representatives of the people—but not by a majority of any court.

The constitution recognized the advisability of a qualified restriction upon the legislative power by giving the executive the veto, but did not make that veto absolute, subjecting it to be overruled by the sober second thought of congress if it adhered by two-thirds vote to its former action. It is the height of unreason then to suppose that the constitution could have given the power of an absolute or irrevocable veto when it has not been expressly conferred.

No power more fatal to government by the people could have been devised, for unlike the president and the congress, the judges are not elective nor are they subject to review by the sovereign power, the people, by their terms being limited. On the contrary, they are appointed to office and hold for life. For them to take the veto power is to assume arbitrary supremacy in the control of government. We cannot assume that they will not err in their construction of the constitution, since the very basis of their assumption of the power is that both houses of congress and the president have erred in the particular matter before them. Besides the court held the legal tender law illegal and then held it legal. They held the income tax legal for a hundred years and then held it illegal. They have reversed numerous decisions of their own court, thereby holding that the court is not infallible.

Moreover, they have repeatedly held an act invalid by majority of one vote. This rests the government not upon the intelligence and integrity of both houses of congress, with the approval of the president, but upon **"The infallibility of the odd man upon the court."**

With such tremendous power, without any expression in the constitution conferring it, and its decisions dependent in the last analysis upon "the odd man" in a body, holding not by election but by appointment and for life, is it any wonder that great aggregations of wealth have always been influential in selecting the depositeries of that irreviewable and arbitrary power and that while men of intelligence and high personal character have been selected as judges, most of them have been from the class which achieved their high places at the bar as representatives of the great vested interests, and their very integrity causes them to view questions after they reach the bench from the same standpoint that they contended for vehemently at the bar, which views had influence with those who supported their selection for appointment?

Power so vast, so irreviewable, so arbitrary and so utterly at variance with precedent and without authority in the constitution cannot fail sooner or later to cause serious, if not fatal, embarrassment. It did so in the Dred Scott case and it took four years of war and three constitutional amendments to cure it. It did so when the court reversed, by a change of one vote, the decision by which, following the precedents of a hundred years, it had upheld the income tax. It took the people of this country nearly twenty years to cure that by the adoption of the XVI amendment, during which time in defiance of the act of congress, the masses paid billions of dollars in taxes which congress had ordered paid out of the incomes of the rich.

Who knows when again the **"infallible odd man"** may flout both houses of congress and the president by assertion of his power? Is it wise to subject 100,000,000 of the foremost people on this earth to the irreviewable power of "the odd man" and subject their will to his?

The income tax law was enacted by a unanimous vote in both houses of congress. The irreviewable, irresponsible, "infallible odd man" on the court changed his vote overnight and reversed the decision which following the precedent of 100 years had reaffirmed it. Can irresponsible and unauthorized power go further than this?

It has never been alleged that there is a link in the constitution which confers this power upon the court. **If there is such, let it be pointed out and it will end the controversy.** The only reply has been that this power has been repeatedly upheld the decision made in Marbury vs. Madison. But 100 times zero is **zero** still, and as the original decision was without authority its repetition cannot give it any added force. Congress denied the court such power in the "McCardle" case and the court held that it had no power to disobey congress.

The government of this country should be confined to its people, to be exercised through their duly selected representatives, who are the sole judges of their fidelity to their trust, subject only to review by the people themselves.

(Signed) WALTER CLARK.

Raleigh, N. C., Aug., 1921.

GROUP LIBERTY IS IMPERATIVE

Today in industry there are few rights of fundamental value to men and women unless those rights are as available to men in groups and associations as to individuals. The right of an individual to quit his work is firmly established. Employers of reactionary character, aided by legislators who either do not or will not understand, seek today to make it unlawful for groups of workers to quit their work in unison. The purpose of quitting work in unison under the desire on the part of the worker, or to attempt to secure such satisfaction. Modern industry is a mere satisfaction to the worker who quits alone.

Individual liberty must find its modern counterpart in group liberty. The individual contract, which aimed to exchange equal values between parties of equal standing, must find its modern counterpart in a group contract. There is no mutuality, no equality, in a contract between an individual worker and a billion dollar corporation employing hundreds or thousands of workers. The principle that gave vitality to individual freedom and to the individual contract is dead in modern life unless it also means a like freedom of action to groups of men associated to protect and promote a common interest.

The "individual contract" which employes separately are forced to sign as an individual to quit his work is firmly established. Employers of reactionary character, aided by legislators who either do not or will not understand, seek today to make it unlawful for groups of workers to quit their work in unison. The purpose of quitting work in unison under the desire on the part of the worker, or to attempt to secure such satisfaction. Modern industry is a mere satisfaction to the worker who quits alone.

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The "individual contract" which employes separately are forced to sign as an individual to quit his work in securing work and by which they must contract to acquire or retain membership in labor unions, under jobless starvation or acquiescence by the workers under coercion.

Such grieving up of one's ownership of one's self, his sovereignty as an individual under conditions like agreeing with a thug at the point of his gun to give up his purse, and to retain his life. Through old and new laws and through contractual devices under the protection of these laws they seek to destroy the mutuality of the workers and to destroy freedom for the workers.—Declaration of A. F. of L. convention, 1921.

As manipulated by employers for the denial and abrogation of individual rights, under the protection of anti-combination and conspiracy laws, such "individual contract" in industry is one of the most pernicious, subtle and dangerous devices ever used for the oppression of humanity.

In our modern industrial civilization, where the individual right and the individual liberty is so largely dependent upon a similar freedom for the group of which the individual is a part, the freedom of the individual is frequently either abridged or denied by a denial of group rights.

Anti-conspiracy laws as applied to industrial life, is a miserable heritage from a miserable past of the early efforts to crush the aspirations and liberties of working people, must go entirely. They must be removed from the body of law under which we live.

The whole issue of freedom today turns upon the question of group rights. Today the courts agree that industry, the relations between workers and employers, can be safeguarded and regulated in such as the rights of the group are equally safeguarded and guaranteed. Those who seek to crush and oppress the workers see this clearly. Through old and new laws and through contractual devices under the protection of these laws they seek to destroy the mutuality of the workers and to destroy freedom for the workers.—Declaration of A. F. of L. convention, 1921.

WIN UNION SHOP.

Grand Rapids, Mich., Aug. 20.—Allied electrical employes have signed a union-shop agreement with theater owners in this city, after long and heated negotiations.

HATTERS GET CONTRACT.

San Francisco, Aug. 20.—Practically all hat manufacturers have signed the wage scale of the Hatters' union.

PRODUCTION FOR SERVICE; AUTOCRACY KILLS INCENTIVE

Those contributing to production should have a part in its control.

It is fundamental for efficiency in production that the essentials of teamwork be understood and followed by all. There must be opportunity for intercourse and exchange of viewpoints between workers and managers. It is this machinery for solving industrial problems that is now threatened.

There must be given to each individual a voice in the shaping of his life. That right must extend to the workers in their organized capacity to be exercised through their chosen representatives.

Industry today requires greater democracy in order to give to the workers full voice in assisting in this direction.

It requires more intelligent management and acceptance of the principle that production is for service and not for profit alone.

It requires full and free acceptance and use of the best that invention has to offer.

It requires bold and audacious reconstruction of methods and processes in the conduct of basic industries.

Labor does not oppose introduction of improved methods in industry. It counts and encourages improvements in processes and in machinery. What it will always resist is the introduction of these processes and this machinery at the expense of the workers.

Proper absorption of non-producers into careful channels.

The skill of the workers must be a paramount consideration. There can be no progress and no safety without it. Where there is not such consideration. But a greater mutuality in industry will insure proper safeguarding of the rights of workers.

Only by such methods and under such principles can there be an advance in production which does not penalize the worker for his own industriousness and for his own alertness and inventiveness.

Autocratic industry kills incentive. It punishes brilliancy of attainment. It warps the mind and drains the energy from the body. We have repeatedly condemned the principle of autocratic control of industry and we now declare that snort of its complete removal from our industrial life, is destruction of opportunity for the full development of the creative genius of the workers.

We urge the setting up of conference boards of organized workers and employers, advisory voluntary in character and in thorough accord with our trade union organizations, as means of promoting the democracy of industry through development of cooperative effort. We point out to employers the fact that industry, through the blood of our civilization, can not be made the plaything and the pawn of a few who for chance today control it. Industry is the thing by which all must live and it must be given the opportunity to function as it has been.

Labor turn-over is but one of the evils which will disappear in proportion as there is given to the service in management. This is proven by statistics which show the lowest turn-over in those industries where the workers exercise the most effective voice by reason of the highest degree of organization.—Declaration of A. F. of L. convention, 1921.

CAR MEN WILL ARBITRATE.

Tacoma, Wash., Aug. 20.—Organized street car men and the local traction company will arbitrate wage differences.

STATE UNIONS TO MEET.

Aurora, Ill., Aug. 20.—The annual convention of the Illinois state federation of labor will convene in this city on October 17.

HISTORY OF LABOR DAY

Labor day, 1921, is the twenty-seventh annual celebration of Labor day as a legal national holiday.

The history of Labor day is significant of the increasing strength and progress of organized labor.

Labor day evolved from the aspiration of the labor movement; it was not handed down as a present. Its recognition as a legal holiday was won by labor; it was not given to labor.

The united voluntary efforts of the workers themselves established Labor day as a national holiday long before any state legislature or the national legislature enacted the custom into statute law.

But the history of the statute law is in itself significant; it indicates the ever-increasing influence of the economic organizations of labor over the deliberations of law makers.

The Labor day idea was originated by P. J. McGuire, for many years first vice-president of the American Federation of Labor.

At a meeting of the New York city central labor union, held on May 8, 1882, McGuire urged the propriety of setting aside one day in the year as a general holiday for the laboring people. He suggested that it be called "Labor day."

The idea was adopted by the central labor union, and it staged a Labor day parade and festival on the first Monday in September, 1882.

The A. F. of L. endorsed the national Labor day holiday at its 1884 convention, held at Chicago. The convention unanimously adopted the following resolution, introduced by A. C. Cameron, delegate from the Chicago trades and labor alliance:

"Resolved, That the first Monday in September of each year be set apart as a laborers' national holiday, and that we recommend its observance by all wage workers, irrespective of sex, calling, or nationality."

Through the activity of the state federations of labor and the central labor bodies the Labor day demand spread from city to city and state to state.

Many municipal councils and state legislatures made it a legal holiday.

Oregon was the first state to accede to labor's demand that Labor day be made a state holiday. The Oregon Labor day law was signed by the governor on February 21, 1887. The legislatures of Colorado, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York also made Labor day a state holiday in 1887. Connecticut, Nebraska and Pennsylvania followed in 1889; Iowa and Ohio in 1890; Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Montana, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Tennessee and Washington in 1891; Alabama, Louisiana, Utah and Virginia in 1892, and California, Delaware, Florida, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Texas and Wisconsin in 1893.

In the meantime A. F. of L. officials sought congressional legislation to make Labor day a legal national holiday, in comformity with the resolution of the 1884 convention. The bill became a law ten years later. It passed congress on June 28, 1894.

On June 29, 1894, President Cleveland signed the Labor day law in the presence of Amos J. Cummings, representative in congress from New York city. Mr. Cummings presented the pen and penholder used by President Cleveland to President Gompers.

In his annual report to the 1894 A. F. of L. convention President Gompers said:

"National Labor Day—It affords me pleasure to be able to report that the demand made by the A. F. of L. for making the first Monday in September of each year a legal holiday passed congress and was made a law on June 29, 1894."

NO DICTATORSHIP FOR US.

"We know that the representatives of democracy make mistakes, and that is the penalty we pay for having democracies—but we have the right to make a mistake rather than to yield to the dictation of some emperor, kaiser, or king. If we want a democracy we must pay the penalty for the mistakes democracies are subject to.

"We want no dictatorship of any kind; we want the recognition of the principle of equality before the law and equality of opportunity. We want neither dictatorship from the bottom nor from the top. We will work out the solution of the problems in meeting them, so that such problems as may be met and overcome; and we will find that new problems are continually arising to confront us; but through the solution of any problem today we would be better able to meet and solve the problems of tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow's.—Samuel Gompers.

FREEDOM ABOVE ALL.

Our freedom must be complete and all-abounding. Restriction of freedom is abolition of freedom. We call upon the convention and upon the workers everywhere to dedicate themselves again to the struggle for freedom. The aspirations of human life must not be jeopardized by the presence of an industrial system that has not yet learned how to give its best service or how best to accommodate itself to the growing needs of human life. This demand we place above all others as meriting and requiring our most energetic activities everywhere. Liberty must not perish on the altar of either greed or cupidity.—Declaration of A. F. of L. convention, 1921.

Chinese Coolie Advocates

(Continued from Page One)

no peonage or serfdom, but that no employe be required to secure the signature of his employer to the identification card, usually employed as an agricultural laborer, with deportation as the alternative for the lack of such a signed declaration.

A. F. of L representatives, close-by watching the proceedings of the immigration committee, protested that such provision in itself meant "absolute bondage."

Following these hearings Chairman Johnson of the house committee on immigration committee offered for consideration a tentative substitute resolution, which he said had been prepared by Judge Irwin. Labor's representatives, after studying the proposed substitute for H. J. R. 171, found that it contained in effect all of the objectionable features of the now discredited Resolution No. 171.

The resolution provides that there shall be no restriction of movement on the part of Chinese coolies except "within the class or classes of labor as to which the emergency has been found to exist."

But above all, it is pointed out by the labor representatives, the resolution still opens the door for the importation of Chinese coolies, and that is regarded as the basic issue in the whole controversy.

In effect, it is pointed out, what the sugar representatives now propose is peonage covered with deceptive language and the destruction of the Chinese exclusion act exactly as provided for in the original resolution, which, it is emphasized by labor, is still before the house committee with a favorable report.

THE "INTELLECTUALS" AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

By VICTOR S. YARROS.

Spinoza says in one of his essays or ethics that we ought to endeavor to understand human nature, and neither groan nor exult over it. This wise admonition may be commended particularly to those fairly complacent groups which call themselves "the intelligencia," a word borrowed from the Russian—or "the intellectuals." These little and (in their own eyes) highly important groups are divided into many schools of opinion, and seldom, if ever, agree upon any question, but they are apt to find common ground in their dissatisfaction with and hostility to the leadership of organized labor, especially organized labor in America.

Few of them have ever seen the inside of a factory, shop, mine, mill or other industrial establishment. Few of them know what manual labor is, what the average wage-earner thinks or wants, and the mental moral atmosphere in which such a wage worker lives and moves. The last thing to occur to them is the need of honest, humble, unprejudiced study of the ideas and sentiments of the toiling masses. They groan or they exult, but they never seek to understand. They have what they call ideals and policies, evolved chiefly out of their inner consciousness, or derived from books of older and more academic "intellectuals," and if the facts of life and of human nature in action seem to contradict those ideals and policies, why, so much the worse for the facts and the actualities. The intelligencia does not have to test its ideas; it is infallible and cannot go wrong.

Now, some years ago one of the cleverest of the British, or Irish, intellectuals, G. B. Shaw, made a vain appeal to the intelligencia of the united kingdom to get together and construct a positive platform that should appeal to all the advanced liberal and radical schools of thought. The appeal was in vain, as he, indeed, knew it would. Under the tyrannical and cruel czars of old Russia, it is true, the intelligencia was for a time more than a name; it really stood for something, and it was united, or all but united. This was because the issues in Russia at that time were simple. An intelligent and high-minded man or woman could not be other than a revolutionist, a political and social radical. But in a free, democratic and progressive country there is no monopoly of intelligence, or of education, and there is no group in the least entitled to pose as the intelligencia. Moreover, in a free, democratic and progressive country opinions necessarily diverge more widely than in a country in which discussion is forbidden or hampered by censors. Ultimately free discussion does lead to agreement, but only on fundamentals. Men differ, but they may agree to disagree on secondary issues and to work together for common ends.

There are in America certain dilettante radicals who judge everybody and everything from some doctrinaire point of view without having any qualifications for judging anybody or anything outside their own limited experience. They do not know their own country; they do not understand the temper of their own people; they claim to speak for millions upon millions of men and women whose lives they have never studied and whose struggles they have never shared.

These arrogant and futile "intellectuals" are particularly fond of laying down obiter dicta for the benefit of organized labor, and of railing at or frowning upon those representatives and leaders of labor whom the rank and file see fit to elect, and re-elect year after year to carry out the policies and to carry on the educational work which the generality of the union workers believe in, sympathize with and recognize as reflecting their own rooted ideas and deepest sentiments.

The American Federation of Labor is the especial bete noir of these very "superior" outside critics and self-appointed guides. There is nothing in or about the Federation that pleases them. They do not like its officers and directors; they do not approve of its platform; they attack its methods; they quarrel with its basic principles, its structure and form. They have never tried organization themselves for any sublunar purpose, but they are prepared to teach millions of hard-headed and disciplined men and women—disciplined by life and by work—how to organize and what to do in and with their organizations.

Thus, we are solemnly told, "trade unionism is played out," and only reactionaries and obscurantists still perversely adhere to that form of labor organization. "Industrial organization," the one big union idea is the thing—the modern, up-to-the-minute thing. Well, if that were true, who, pray, would be apt to discover it? Surely, the men and women who for many years and decades have formed and served labor unions, worked in and for them, won victories and suffered defeats in the struggle for industrial justice and industrial democracy. As a matter of fact, there are industrial unions as well as trade unions in the American Federation of Labor. The experience of both types is available for study and comparison. If the trade union have not seen fit to scrap their organizations and swallow the one-big-union idea, it is safe to say there are better reasons for this "conservatism" than the dilettante outsiders dream of or reckon with in their fantastic world-philosophy. The labor movement has not stood still; it has marched and evolved; it will continue to march, but it will not change its policies or its methods at the superficial behest of self-styled intellectuals.

A second grievance of at least some of the intellectuals is that the leaders of the American labor movement are, for the most part, suspicious of and averse to what is called "independent political action." Why does not American labor form a distinct political party, modeled upon the British labor party? The British labor party is always painted in bright, alluring colors as the most advanced and enlightened body in the world. Why, then, not imitate it? Why not profit by its experience? Again, the slow advance made in this country by the advocates of a distinct labor party is attributed by the intellectuals to the standpatism, obtuseness and ignorance of the majority of the leaders of organized labor.

This theory is as shallow and absurd as that which has been commented on above in connection with the one-big-union dogma. The overwhelming majority of American unionists are opposed to separate and independent political action. They are citizens as well as trade unionists. They severally belong to certain parties and have no wish to secede from them. The labor movement has specific purposes and they join it to promote these purposes. There are republicans, democrats, socialists, single-taxers, individualists in the labor movement. Means are suggested by ends. Some ends require political action, and some require economic or other modes of action. Americans can not think in terms evolved by British or French or Italian conditions. They think, and rightly so, in terms that have grown out of their own vital experiences. A labor party in America would speedily resolve itself into a party of a few fanatical reformers and cranks, and would soon lose favor and contempt upon the labor movement from those who are seeking to destroy and discredit it.

"Ah," argue some of the intellectuals, "the majority of union men and women are opposed to separate political action! What of it? It is the business of leaders to lead—to blaze the trail, to strike out along new paths, to show courage and foresight. The majority will gladly respond, at least after a while, to inspiring and bold leadership!"

The trouble with many of our philosophers of the closet is that they have a sneaking admiration for benevolent despotism, for dictatorships, for oligarchies. This is why some of them have been apologizing for Russia's cruel, tyrannical and insane Bolshevik experiment. They have no faith in democracy, no real use for it. They do not understand or sympathize with the democratic character of the American labor movement. They look on it as a mere tool and foe, and offer every encouragement to would-be bosses who believe in driving instead of leading, and who would impose or exploit personal ideas, wrecking the whole movement by premature, or unsound, or sophomoric fads and fancies, rather than honestly represent and voice the convictions of the rank and file.

Finally, there is another and even more foolish charge that certain would-be guides of labor among the intellectuals are prone to prefer, namely, that it is inconsistent and un-American to adopt the slogan, "Reward your friends and defeat your political enemies," or to advocate the nomination and election of city, state and federal lawmakers solely because of their tested and proved loyalty to labor and its essential proposals!

Better, say these wiseacres, a separate labor party than methodical discriminations against good, nice candidates who happen to be out of sympathy with labor. If a wage worker is a citizen, how can he vote solely with a view to his economic interests and ignore the larger and deeper national issues, such as war and peace, tariffs, trusts, finance, colonial policy, and the like? Is not a narrow trade union platform a class platform?

Such a farrago of fallacies and freak pseudo-ideas is hardly worthy of serious attention, yet some "intellectuals" indict the leaders of the labor movement precisely on such grounds as are advanced in this farrago. It is clear that they have not read the platforms they condemn. It is also clear that they do not understand that it is childish to ask men to vote for their enemies.

The labor movement is both practical and idealistic—practical in that it deals with present problems, present conditions, and seeks to ameliorate the lot of the working masses without waiting for millennial social changes; practical, further, because it believes in accommodation and amicable relations with all employers who are amenable to reason and willing to meet labor half way; and idealistic, because every benefit, every gain, every victory won by labor today can not but facilitate broader and more fundamental social reforms, and because nothing labor asks for itself is selfish or narrow or anti-social, since any measure that helps organized labor also helps labor at large, by raising the standard of living and strengthening the position of all labor, in normal contests with employers or agents of employers.

Since organized labor is not a political party, nor a sect, nor a dogmatic school of reform, nor a combination to extort special privileges irrespective of the welfare of the interests of other social elements, but a body altogether unique and vital, its platform is complex and contains diverse elements. When labor is advised to vote only for its friends it is not advised to put candidates into a Procrustean bed and reject all who are not labeled orthodox. The men who are deemed worthy of trade union and labor support in city, state and national politics are as a rule more liberal, more humane, more progressive, than the men who pretend that their general Americanism excludes their co-operation with, or championship of, the cause of organized labor. The intellectuals will search the records in vain for evidence that the American Federation of Labor has advised voting for reactionaries, jingoes, demagogues or schemers who professed friendship for labor.

The last charge of the carping intellectuals against the present leaders of the American labor movement thus falls to the ground. It is baseless.

It does not matter much what the self-styled intellectuals say in their mutual admiration cliques or organs about organized labor and its leaders, but the fact that these pompous and arrogant intellectuals so egregiously misinterpret facts and misread records is of importance to students of reformatory activities. Our time is by no means free from Utopians, phrase-mongers, doctrinnaires and quacks, conscious and unconscious.